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SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

[The editor of this department is glad to receive notes on all topics of interest to sociologists and persons working along sociological lines in the broadest acceptance of the term. It is not the purpose of these columns to define the boundaries of sociology, but rather to group in one place for the convenience of members of the Academy all available bits of information on the subject that would otherwise be scattered throughout various departments of the ANNALS. The usefulness of this department will naturally depend largely on the measure of co-operation accorded the editor by other members of the Academy.]

Among those who have already indicated their interest and willingness to contribute are such well-known workers along sociological lines as Professor F. H. Giddings (Columbia College), Professor W. F. Willcox (Cornell University), Dr. John Graham Brooks (Cambridge, Mass.), Dr. E. R. Gould (Johns Hopkins University), Mr. John Koren (Boston), Hon. Carroll D. Wright (Washington, D. C.), Professor E. Cheysson (Paris), Mr. Robert D. McGonnigle (Pittsburg, Pa.), President John H. Finley (Knox College), Prof. D. R. Dewey (Boston), Miss Emily Green Balch (Jamaica Plains, Mass.), Miss M. E. Richmond (Baltimore, Md.), and others.

The Theory of Sociology.—*The Law of Population.* Three significant publications * attest a renewed interest in the study of Malthus and an attempt to restate the Malthusian law of population in a way that cannot fail to attract the attention of sociologists. In its original form the theory of Malthus, which regarded the growth of population as limited by the increase in the means of subsistence, was a purely economic problem, and as such received constant discussion and some modification at the hands of all leading economists. Professor Patten calls attention to Malthus' own statement of his law and to the confusion in his own thought which led Malthus himself to shift somewhat his basis of proof. This led, further, to several different statements of the law on the part of Malthus' successors. Professor Patten enumerates four statements of the law, all of which he finds defective, and claims that if the law is to be made of any use in political economy, "it must be restated in a manner more in harmony with the present tendencies of economic thought." He claims that "the opposition to be harmonized is not between population and the means of subsistence, but rather between population and productive power,"

* "Population and Capital." By ARTHUR T. HADLEY. A paper read at the seventh annual meeting of the American Economic Association, Columbia College, Dec. 27, 1894. To appear shortly in a volume of papers which will make Nos. 5 and 6 of Vol. ix. of the Publications of the American Economic Association.

"The Law of Population Restated." By SIMON N. PATTEN. *Political Science Quarterly*. March, 1895.

"*Versuch einer Bevölkerungslehre ausgehend von einer Kritik des Malthus'schen Bevölkerungsprinzips.*" By Dr. FRANK FETTER. Pp. vii-97. Jena, 1894.

and his conclusion is that "over-population is relative and has its cause in social and not in physical conditions."

As a check to over-population Malthus laid much stress upon prudence and self-restraint, giving two qualities which Professor Patten thinks are developed by the same conditions that increase the food supply, or, what is the same thing, increase the productive power of society, and, at the same time, the unconscious economic checks to population.

Professor Hadley approaches the problem from a somewhat different side, but reaches an almost identical conclusion. Comparing the growth of population and capital, he finds interacting and mutually restrictive elements which tend to an equilibrium. He believes that the use of sociological methods of inquiry enables us to connect a discussion of the growth of social capital with a study of the Malthusian theory, and through the combination "to present the essential truth which underlies them both in a more guarded, and, at the same time, a more convincing and useful form than is commonly given." He sketches briefly the attempts of more primitive societies to meet the issue involved in the conflict between the growth of population and the growth of social capital, by infanticide and the institution of the matriarchate, and finally by the development of the military family, which enables social capital to accumulate from century to century in the hands of the strongest. Even if the system of property is unfair, a new tendency is manifest and the struggle becomes one for domination rather than for annihilation. Under the perfection of the military system, in the changes brought about much more stress is laid on the production of wealth as well as on its appropriation, and thus a capitalistic system is gradually introduced. Individual capital becomes a directing force in progress by the law of selection. Not merely do the strong and the industrious survive, as in the patriarchal and mediæval systems; but the prudent and intellectual are eliminated from the reckless and emotional. Professor Hadley's conclusion is that "Malthus made a mistake in giving too much countenance to the idea that preventive checks must be conscious; but his socialistic critics make a greater mistake in holding that such checks are automatic. The truth would seem to be that such checks are, for the most part, institutional. The modern family and the modern law of capital have acted as a powerful system of preventive checks to population. The apparently automatic and often unconscious operation of these checks must not blind us to the historical power which has established and perpetuated them."

Dr. Fetter has worked out with considerable care a criticism of Malthus, and has tested by an able collection of statistical material the Malthusian predictions and has re-stated the Malthusian theory

in a form which he calls "a voluntary theory of population," in which he emphasizes social and psychic factors in very much the same way as Professors Hadley and Patten. In his criticism of Malthus' statement of his law, Dr. Fetter calls attention to the double sense in which the word "tendency" or "tends" is used: "Malthus undoubtedly sometimes meant by the statement that the population has a tendency to increase faster than the means of subsistence; that the possibility or capability of such increase is always present, and, again, in the other sense to which this phrase is open, that the number of people in any given society at any given time actually did increase in conformity to this law." Dr. Fetter points out very well how the double thought involved not only created confusion in the mind of Malthus, but has been the cause of much of the dispute among his followers. He concludes that Malthus' central idea was that the population was in some way determined by the division of the sum of the means of subsistence, by the average amount consumed by one man, a theory similar in statement to the Wage-Fund theory. But, how the sum of the means of subsistence, or the unit of subsistence, is to be determined Malthus does not indicate. "It has the appearance of an explanation without in reality being one, and Malthus did not succeed in giving us a satisfactory theory of population."

Dr. Fetter has spared those who care to study the question on a statistical side, much trouble by bringing together in the second part of his monograph the latest statistics from all countries which will serve to test the Malthusian theory. These tables relate to the number of marriages; the age of contracting parties; the influence of property and of class distinctions on age and number of marriages; the number of children to each marriage in the various social classes, etc. A comparison of the number of persons per thousand of the population marrying, shows the following falling off for the period 1886 to 1890 compared with the figures given by Malthus based on returns for the years indicated for each country:

France (1825)	14.7
Norway (1799)	15.4
England (beginning of seventeenth century)	17.4
Holland (about 1785)	18.5
Sweden (1757-1760)	17.8

The figures for the period 1886 to 1890 for these same countries were as follows:

France	14.3
Norway	12.6
England	14.5
Holland	13.9
Sweden	12.2

The age of marriage for both men and women is highest among the small agricultural property holders. The age is lowest for men among the poorest classes and highest among the well-to-do classes. The general present tendency in all countries is a lowering of the age rather than a raising of the same. The birth-rate has fallen since the sixties in all western countries with the exception of Italy.

Dr. Fetter believes that the problem of over-population will be solved by the introduction of psychological elements into our education; by the influence of an improvement in the standard of life; and by the educational training of social institutions. To this latter method, he believes society must turn, and with a feeling of greater responsibility bring such educational agencies, as, for instance, the encouragement of small property-holding, State activity in the line of savings banks, etc., to bear upon the lower classes. And, with such measures in view he concludes with the words: "A rightly defined theory of population is not the prop of any impending injustice, nor the weapon of any privileged class, nor the enemy of true progress. It does not ignore the errors of the past, nor the evils of the present, and it views with hope the future of society."

Unemployed.—*Report of Massachusetts Commission.* The commission on the unemployed has submitted to the Legislature the first part of its report, dealing with relief measures.

Under the act authorizing its existence the commission was organized June 29, 1894, and has consequently had but a few months in which to pursue its investigation. The act called for an extensive inquiry on subjects widely differing from each other. On some of these subjects there was little data available and no precedent for the methods to be followed. The commission, therefore, has had to devise its own machinery of inquiry, as well as to collect independently the facts called for. The commission has kept well within the appropriation which was made, and has already collected a large portion of its material.

This first part of the report is confined to relief measures adopted in Massachusetts and elsewhere, chiefly during the winter of 1893-94. The discussion of the relative merits of these methods, and suggestions for the future, have been postponed until the final report, which will embody the recommendations of the Board. In Massachusetts, the relief agencies considered are special relief committees organized by the citizens of the several cities and towns, municipal departments which gave employment upon public works, labor organizations which gave out-of-work benefits or used other funds for similar purposes, private charitable agencies, and public poor departments. Interest will centre chiefly upon the operations of special relief

committees and the employment upon public works, for these were due to the unusual depression, and have seldom been resorted to in Massachusetts.

In thirteen Massachusetts cities or towns special relief committees were formed of the citizens at large. In seven of these, of which Worcester is the most striking case, relief was given without the requirement of work. In five, relief was given both gratuitously and in the form of work. Of these, Cambridge, Chelsea and Lynn are the most prominent examples. In only one city, Boston, did a special relief committee give aid except in return for work.

The employment upon public works consisted in the continuation beyond the usual season of work already in hand, the hastening of work, and the undertaking of work which probably would not have been done at all in the near future if the desire to give employment had not served as a stimulus. The work performed consisted of street cleaning, street construction, sewer work, park work, gravel filling, stone breaking, and construction and maintenance of water works. In a few cases the wages paid were considerably lower than those usually paid in the departments giving employment, for it was thought that the inexperience of the workmen and the unfavorable season made labor at the usual rates unprofitable; in many cases the wages were somewhat reduced below the usual point, but commonly, emergency men were paid the same as regular laborers. In almost every town, some loss was suffered from the inexperience of the men and the unfavorable season of the year. The average increase of cost was perhaps 40 per cent, though in some instances the increase was as much as 200 per cent.

Of relief afforded by labor organizations, the commission has been unable to obtain full statistics, partly because of the unwillingness of trade-unions to make public their doings, and partly because the relief afforded was unusual in character and therefore records of its distribution were not kept by the unions in a form available for publication. A few typical instances are stated, however, showing the unusual benefits afforded by the cigar makers and the textile workers of the State. That the trade organizations spent large sums in caring for their unemployed is shown, in addition, by the statements of those who raised special funds or opened voluntary subscriptions. The relief afforded by the central labor union of Boston is notable, not simply because it was contributed by others than members of trade organizations, but because it was distributed to families known to be in distress, whether they were connected with trade organizations or not.

The relief granted by private charities was increased in amount at least 50 per cent over that of a normal year, and the proportion of

families who applied for relief for the first time is unusually large. There were few soup houses, and a marked advance in relief methods over preceding years in the attempt to furnish work by opening wood-yards, sewing-rooms or industrial laundries. Precautions were taken that the product sold should not enter into competition with persons regularly in employment, but the difficulty of making sales in this way precluded success in most cases.

The relief afforded by public poor departments was much greater, particularly in the cities of more than 20,000 inhabitants, where it reached two or three times as much as in previous years. In four cities, men were sent to wood-yards for this purpose; in two, they were sent to the town farms; and in three, they were employed at stone-breaking.

A rough approximation of the number of persons aided, single or representatives of families, in Massachusetts by three of the relief agencies mentioned, citizens' relief committees, public works and poor departments, puts the figures at 65,000. This alone, probably represents increased or unusual aid for more than 40,000 persons or families. Some may have been counted twice, but it is hardly possible that the number aided by private charities and labor organizations would not restore this figure.

The applicants for relief were chiefly of the unskilled class. In some towns, indeed, where the distress was due to depression in an industry which furnished a large part of the employment of the town, many skilled workmen were forced to apply for aid. A large proportion, even of the skilled, are reported as improvident. In many cases, applicants appeared willing to do a fair day's work in return for their wages.

With very few exceptions, relief was afforded only to residents or persons appearing to have a *bona fide* intention to settle. Investigation was generally attempted, but usually proved to be inadequate or was subsequently abandoned altogether.

A number of interesting experiments carried on in cities of the United States outside of Massachusetts, are discussed in the report.

In Indianapolis the administration of emergency relief was undertaken by a committee of the Commercial Club which dispensed food in return for work. If a person's application for aid was reported favorably, an account book was issued to him, upon which he could obtain at a market maintained by the committee a ration supposed to be sufficient for his family. The ration was made up upon a definite system, and was intended to include all necessary foods. It was changed from time to time, and the cost was charged upon the account book at seventy-two or eighty-two cents or at one dollar,

according to its composition. The retail price of the articles would have been about \$1.60. Every effort was made to obtain the best at the lowest possible cost, and assistance was given in the selection by dealers interested in the work of the committee. The committee was unable to procure private employment for the men whom it needed to assist, and therefore, for most of the time the main reliance was public work.

In Detroit a unique plan was adopted upon the recommendation of the mayor, Hon. Hason S. Pingree, by which unoccupied land within the city limits and adjacent was utilized by the unemployed for raising vegetables for their consumption during the coming winter. About 450 acres of land were utilized in this way. A special Agricultural Commission, appointed to take charge of this work, staked off the land in small parcels, plowed and harrowed it, and furnished seed. It is reported that the venture netted to the cultivators food to the value of twelve or fourteen thousand dollars, costing the committee only three thousand six hundred dollars.

In New York the most interesting experiment was the cleaning of tenement houses, conducted under the direction of the East Side Relief Work Committee. Houses numbering seven hundred, comprising three thousand rooms, eight hundred halls, five hundred cellars, besides sheds, stables, lofts, etc., were whitewashed; three thousand four hundred eighty-five barrels of refuse were removed from five hundred fifty cellars; in addition to these, two thousand five hundred halls and two thousand two hundred rooms were cleaned and scrubbed. Nearly twenty thousand dollars was expended as wages for the unemployed in this way.

In Chicago, the most interesting relief was given by work for which payment was made in tickets redeemable in lodging, food, clothing. The work consisted of labor upon the streets.

The experiments undertaken abroad for emergency relief are similar to those in the United States, and throw but little light upon the problem.

The Report of the Citizens' Relief Committee of Boston * is perhaps the most suggestive of all the reports of the special relief work for the winter of 1893-94 that have yet appeared in print. The Boston committee had at its command, by subscription, something over \$100,000, and together with money earned by the committee the sum spent aggregated \$136,000. The report gives a very full statistical analysis of just how this money was spent, and an account of the plans adopted to turn it into the most useful channels.

* "Report of the Citizens' Relief Committee of Boston for 1893-94." Boston, 1895. Pp. 72. For sale by Clarke & Co. Price, 25 cents.

The only unremunerative work done by the committee was in cleaning the streets, for which \$25,000 was paid to 17,383 men in small sums for whole and half days' labor. Seventeen sewers were constructed at a season of the year which made the work more costly; the deficit in cost being made good from the Committee's funds; \$11,485 was paid in this way as a deficit which enabled contracts for \$35,121 to be executed; of this sum, \$25,487 was paid in wages for labor, and \$12,091 paid to men assigned by the Relief Committee. Road-building and digging down hills made up the rest of the outdoor work. Lighter indoor work for men not able for the severe outdoor work was provided in an annex to the women's work-room. As many as 200 men at a time were set to work on rag-carpets; about 500 men were thus employed and earned about \$9900 for 9900 days' work. The indoor work for women was conducted along specially able lines, and relief afforded to about 2700. About 350 women were usually employed; the largest number on any day being 525 at eighty cents a day for eight hours on three days' shifts.

A part of the products was sold and the remainder given to various charitable organizations in Boston. The means of investigation employed to secure relief only to the deserving were very thorough, and are worthy of examination as a basis for future experimentation.

Domestic Service Question.—In the April number of the *Ladies' Home Journal*,* the Countess of Aberdeen has contributed some weighty words on the vexed question of household service, together with an account of an interesting experiment that she has made on the servants of her own household. In our Eastern States with the pressure for employment and the severe conditions that have in the past two years been brought about by the slackened condition of industry, it is singular that domestic service is as much a problem as ever, notwithstanding the fact that it is relatively much better paid than the lower grades of factory work. It has become evident to thoughtful students of the problem that the difficulty is not a purely economic one, having to do with the law of supply and demand; but contains also social elements. The relation between employer and employed; the lack of freedom of command over one's time within specific hours, together with a certain caste feeling—all contribute to bring about a state of affairs that makes it impossible to supply the demand for even fairly trained and efficient domestic service.

The Countess of Aberdeen in relating the results of the experiment which has covered a series of years, indicates some lines along which

*"The Burning Question of Domestic Service and an Endeavor to Solve It." By the COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN. *Ladies' Home Journal*, Philadelphia, April, 1895.

further experiment on a larger scale in groups or families might be tried, and suggests, at least, some outlook for a reform movement. The one suggestion—of some limitation in the hours of employment for service, is in itself worthy of careful consideration. Individual families employing a small number of servants may not be able to carry out the schemes for the educational and social improvement of their employes, looking to the possibility of making such work respectable, endurable and permanent, which seem to have met with considerable success in the case of the Countess of Aberdeen ; but the suggestion certainly contains elements that might be made applicable under very different circumstances.

The Norwegian Company System for the Control of the Liquor Traffic.—In a recent pamphlet entitled "The Norwegian Company System ; Why Massachusetts Should Adopt and Test it," Mr. George P. Morris has given a concise and able argument for the Norwegian law, which is now being used as campaign literature throughout the State of Massachusetts, pending action on a bill that has been before its legislature for some time.

Massachusetts has twice tried and twice rejected prohibition. It has made various experiments with license systems and with the principle of local option. Local prohibition has obtained victories in several of the smaller cities. In 1884 six out of twenty-three cities voted no license, and in December, 1894, twelve out of thirty-one voted likewise ; but some of the largest and most typical cities showed no disposition to exclude the liquor traffic. In a period of thirteen years Boston, Holyoke and Newburyport have never voted "no" on a license issue ; Lowell and Northampton voted "no" but once ; Lawrence, Springfield, Chicopee, but twice, etc. In 1894, Boston, Springfield, Northampton, Lowell, Worcester and other large cities all voted for license.

In 1893 a strong movement in favor of a trial of the Norwegian Company System made itself felt in the New England press. The legislature authorized the appointment of an able commission to investigate the system, and after a very full public discussion, the commission drafted a bill which was reported to the General Court. The joint committee of the Senate and House to which it was referred gave numerous hearings to friends and opponents of the bill,—the opposition coming chiefly from liquor dealers and producers,—and the committee reported "inexpedient to legislate." After this report had been made, the friends of the bill in order to solidify their ranks, amended it to meet the objections of certain opponents who feared an injurious effect on the no-license States. In its new shape it passed the House by large majorities on its several readings, and in its final

stage, on June 12, by a vote of eighty-one to sixty-seven. The Senate passed it up to the end of its second stage, but it was defeated on its third and final vote because some of the Senators felt that another year of examination and discussion of the question might prove best. It is probable that certain pressure exerted by the liquor interests had something to do with this sudden conservatism on the part of the Massachusetts Senators.

The friends of this experiment, however, have this year made a renewed and vigorous campaign to attain their object, and a new bill now before the Massachusetts Legislature is about to go to vote and with a much more favorable outlook for its success than at any previous time. The bill is entitled: The Massachusetts Norwegian Bill of 1895. It provides that the State shall require each municipality at its annual election or town meeting to decide by ballot "yes" or "no" whether licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors shall be granted. The bill is an extension of the local option principle, it is permissive only.

Small places which ought to and might exclude the saloon do not come within the application of the law. A town must have five thousand inhabitants before it can try the Norwegian Company System, and, further, in order to protect the cities and towns which have already voted "no" on the question of license from going back hastily to a license régime, the bill provides that no city or town may adopt the company system, except it has voted "yes" on the license question for three years previous, to the passage of this act. As a matter of fact, therefore, the act is a piece of special legislation, which, under present conditions, will apply to only ten cities and eleven towns of over five thousand population. Further conditions imposed by the bill are:

First, a petition from one per cent of the voters;

Second, a bond with a heavy indemnity guaranteeing the formation of a suitable company;

Third, the question goes to the voters for a "yes" or "no" decision as to license, which if granted, will then be granted in this form.

Fourth, the Mayor, or Chairman of Selectmen, Treasurer and Chairman of Board of Assessors are constituted a commission to decide in writing to which of two or more applying companies a monopoly of the licenses shall be granted, which decision is to be based on the fitness of the applicants for effecting the ends intended by the bill.

Fifth, no more than one license to three thousand people shall be granted. At present, outside of Boston, one license to one thousand

people, and inside of Boston one license to five hundred people may be granted.

Sixth, the hours during which the saloons may be opened are cut down from 6 a. m. to 11 p. m. as at present, to, from 8 a. m. to 10 p. m.

Seventh, in order to insure a fair trial, the question of license can come up for popular vote only once in three years.

Eighth, the company controls retail trade (up to fifty gallons) in all alcoholics, except sales in drug stores and sales under the present club law.

The financial features of the bill provide that the company receive five per cent on all money actually invested, and shall accumulate a reserve fund equal to its capital stock in order to guarantee the face value of this stock. Such reserve must be invested and cannot be touched except in case of failure, and the income from it is distributed as in the case of general profits. Net profits from the company's business are then distributed as follows : One-half goes to the establishment of coffee houses, reading rooms, etc., for the purpose of alluring men away from drink ; an amount, not exceeding one-fifth, is to be devoted to the better enforcement of the liquor laws ; an amount, not exceeding one-tenth, is to go to the county for increase in the number of probation offices ; the balance, at least one-fifth, goes to the State for its asylums, prisons and reform schools. All profits, therefore, are distributed with a view either to prevent or help remedy the drink evil.

No stock in any company may be held by any party interested in a liquor business. The State Commissioners of Corporations must oversee everything ; require accounts to be made public ; and wind up the company's business by legal process in case of violation of law. Any person who chooses may apply to the County Judge of Probate for an investigation and revocation of license in the case of any company guilty of illegality.

The bill has been carefully prepared to insure the chief ends already attained by Norwegian experience, namely : First, to remove allurements to drink ; second, to separate the liquor business from politics ; third, to sell the least amount practicable, and that of the purest quality.

Mr. Morris' pamphlet, as well as various other articles, such as "The Norwegian System in its Home," by the Rev. D. N. Beach, published in the *New England Magazine* for February, 1895, as the result of a trip to Norway ; and, a reprint of Dr. E. R. L. Gould's article on the same subject published in the *Forum* November, 1894, can be had free, for purposes of distribution, by applying (with

enclosed postage for return) to Mr. J. G. Thorp, Jr., 89 State street, Boston, Mass.

Another excellent résumé of the facts on the Norwegian system is to be found in a pamphlet by Dr. Gould, giving in a more popular form and with additional facts the substance of his report to the United States Department of Labor. This also may be had from Mr. Thorp on payment of twenty-five cents.

The School of Applied Ethics will hold its fourth summer session at Plymouth, Mass., commencing on July 8, 1895, and continuing for five weeks. There are to be four departments—Economics, Ethics, Education and History of Religions.

In the Department of Economics the subjects to be treated are: "The Relation of the State to Industry," "State Legislation," "Taxation," and "The Importance of Official Investigation in the Solution of Industrial Affairs." Among those to lecture in this department are Professor H. C. Adams, of Michigan University; Professor J. W. Jenks, Cornell University; Professor J. B. Clark, Amherst College; Dr. E. R. L. Gould, Johns Hopkins University; Professor Arthur H. Hadley, Yale University, and Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor.

In the Department of Ethics Professor Felix Adler will give six lectures on the following subjects: (1) "The Ethics of Industrial Conflict" (Boycotts, Strikes, etc.). (2) "The Ethics of Industrial Peace" (Mediation, Arbitration, etc.). (3) "The Effect of Modern Industrial Development on the Family." (4) "Socialism and the Family." (5) "The Future Development of Trades Unionism." (6) "Spiritual Regeneration as a Means of Promoting Industrial Progress." Professor Woodrow Wilson, Princeton University, will give two lectures on "The Referendum in Europe and the United States," and Judge Oliver Wendell Holmes may possibly give three lectures on "The Effect of Modern Economic Development on the Interpretation of the Law."

A complete program which will soon be ready can be obtained from the secretary of the school, Mr. S. Burns Weston, 1305 Arch street, Philadelphia.

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